## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENTI 01314 241253Z

51

ACTION L-02

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00

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R 241018Z FEB 75 FM AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2634 INFO CINCPAC

SECRET VIENTIANE 1314

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: MASS, LA

SUBJECT: MILITARY AID TO LAOS

REF: STATE 028780; VIENTIANE 1209

1. WE ALL RECOGNIZE HOW TENUOUS IS THE BASIS OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO LAOS. THE FACTS ARE THESE:

A. WE ARE CONTINUING THIS ASSISTANCE AT THE REQUEST
OF PRIME MINISTER SOUVANNA EXPRESSED IN HIS LETTER OF
NOVEMBER 8, 1973. AT THE TIME SOUVANNA'S POSITION WAS
THAT RLG'S REQUEST OF 1962 FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE WAS
STILL VALID, THE PGNU BEING ONLY THE LATEST OF GOVERNMENT
RESHUFFLES (VIENTIANE 6732, SEPTEMBER 29, 1973). WE
HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE SOUVANNA HAS CHANGED HIS
POSITION. HOWEVER, THE EXISTENCE OF THE LETTER IS TO
BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE NOT WIDELY KNOWN. (SISOUK REITERATED HIS VIEW TO THE AMBASSADOR THAT IT SHOULD NOT
BE DIVULGED.)

B. PHRASE IN PROTOCOL 16(B) "WHEN IT IS UNANIMOUSLY AGREED BY BOTH SIDES" WAS INTERPRETED AT TIME TO MEAN THAT IF TWO PARTIES COULD NOT AGREE, EACH SIDE WOULD BE FREE TO RECEIVE ARMS FOR ITS DEFENSE (VIENTIANE 6457, SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENTI 01314 241253Z

SEPTEMBER 19, 1973). THIS PHRASE ELIMINATED FROM ARTICLE

D(2) OF JCCIA DOCUMENT, IT WOULD SEEM BY INADVERTENCE.
C. WE INTERPRET ARTICLE D(1) TO BE A REPHRASED
ARTICLE 16(A) OF PROTOCOL ON REPLACEMENT.
D. VIENTIANE SIDE JCCIA OFFICIALS HAVE MADE CLEAR
THEY CONSIDERED AGREEMENT TO REMAIN CAREFULLY WITHIN PROTOCOL FRAMEWORK.

E. QUESTION OF WHAT KIND OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN PARTIES IS REQUIRED IS SO FAR ACADEMIC. EACH SIDE HAS CONTINUED TO RECEIVE ASSISTANCE AS IN PAST. UNDER MINDEF SISOUK LEADERSHIP, VIENTIANE SIDE HAS TAKEN HARD POSITION THAT FAR WAS NOT SUBJECT TO JOINT CONTROL AS LONG AS LPF FORCES WERE NEITHER. LPF HAS EFFECTIVELY BEEN BARRED FROM INTERVENING IN VIENTIANE SIDE MILITARY AFFAIRS.

F. IF UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT WERE REQUIRED ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE -- A MATTER NOT YET RAISED -- WE WOULD EXPECT EACH SIDE WOULD AGREE TO DISAGREE SINCE NEITHER TRUSTS THE OTHER SUFFICIENTLY TO CUT ITSELF OFF FROM ITS FOREIGN SUPPORT.

2. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT FOR THE TIME BEING WE SHOULD STICK TO THE INTERPRETATION THAT EACH PARTY IS FREE TO RECEIVE ASSISTANCE UNLESS BOTH AGREE OTHERWISE. IT MAY BE WE SHALL HAVE TO SURFACE THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER, BUT IF WE DO WE SHOULD EXPECT THAT SOUVANNA WILL COME UNDER LPF PRESSURES TO BRING THIS MATTER WITHIN THE PROVISIONS OF THE ACCORDS AND JCCIA AGREEMENT. MORE IMPORTANTLY, IF OUR CASE IS BASED WHOLLY ON SOUVANNA'S LETTER, HIS DEMISE THEN ELIMINATES OUR JURIDICIAL POSITION, BUT IF WE STAND ON OUR INTERPRETATION, WE CAN MAINTAIN OUR ASSISTANCE TO VIENTIANE SIDE UNTIL THERE IS A GOVERN-MENT OF TRULY NATIONAL UNION THAT CAN COMMAND THE FORCES OF BOTH SIDES. THAT WILL BE ONE OF THE LAST AND MOST DIFFICULT SUBJECTS THE TWO SIDES WILL HAVE TO RECONCILE. IN ANY CASE, IT ISN'T FOR TOMORROW. WHITEHOUSE

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